

THE
DISCOVERY
OF
AMERICA²
BY
COLUMBUS. *1061. h. 3.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY
INTO THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
CONTEST IN AMERICA.



L O N D O N :

Printed for all the Bookfellers in Town and Country.

M DCC LXXVI.



D I S C O V E R Y
O F
A M E R I C A
B Y
C O L U M B U S.

TO determine by whom America was first peopled, is one of those knotty points, which even Time the unraveller of most things, renders difficult and intricate. The most probable *conjecture* is, that America was first peopled by the Carthaginians, who were situate on the North-West coast of Africa, and possessed the Canary and Cape Verd Islands in the Atlantic ocean. As the Carthaginian ships carried sometimes a thousand people, when they sent colonies to those Islands, it is very natural to expect, that some of them should miss those Islands, and be driven to the West, beyond their intended port. If this ever happened, they must of necessity be driven to America, which is situate but three weeks sail to the Westward of the Canary or Cape Verd Islands. From thence it was impossible for them to return to the Eastern continent, the trade-wind being always opposite to them; and this is perhaps the reason that we never heard any thing of that part of the world, until the use of the Compass was discovered, whereby a way was found of sailing into higher latitudes, out of the way of the trade-winds, in order to return to the Eastern continent.

At the time when Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, undertook to extend the boundaries which ignorance had given to the world, the manners of Europe were beginning to rise above that state of barbarity, in which they had been long involved. At this period, several extraordinary events conspired to change the face of all Europe: the discovery of America, the invention of printing, the making of gunpowder, the revival of ancient learning, and the Reformation.

The design of Columbus arose from the just idea he had formed of the figure of the earth; though the maps more erroneous than his conjectures, made him mistake the object. His design was to find a passage to China and India by the Western Ocean.

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He performed the duty of a good citizen, and made his first proposal at home, where it was rejected. Discharged of this obligation, he applied to the court of France, and meeting no better success there, he next offered his service to our Henry the seventh. This prince was rather a prudent steward and manager of a kingdom than a great king, and one of those defensive geniuses who are the last in the world to relish a great but problematical design. It is therefore no wonder that his brother, whom Columbus had employed to solicit in England, after several years spent here, had little success in his negotiation. But in Portugal, where he applied himself after his failure here, his offers were not only rejected but he was insulted and ridiculed; but his mind was too great to be conquered by insult or ridicule, and repulse contributed to heighten his ardour: he found however, in these insults, and this ridicule, a new incitement to pursue his scheme, urged forward by the stings of anger and resentment.

His patience was afterwards exercised for eight years together at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. He had every day, during this long space, to combat with every objection that a false knowledge, could suggest. Some held that the known world, floated like a vast scum upon the ocean; that the ocean itself was infinite. Others, who entertained more just notions, and believed that the earth and waters composed one vast globe, drew a consequence from it as absurd as the former opinion. For they argued, that if Columbus should sail beyond a certain point, the convexity of this globe would prevent his return. As is usual in such cases, every one abounded with objections. His whole time was spent in fruitless endeavours to enlighten ignorance, to remove prejudice and to vanquish that obstinate incredulity, which is of all others the greatest enemy to improvement, rejecting every thing as false and absurd, which is ever so little out of the tract of common experience. However, he at length overcame all difficulties and to his inexpressible joy, with a fleet of three ships, and the title and command of an admiral, set sail on the third of August, 1492, on a voyage the most daring and grand in the design, and in the event of which the world was the most concerned, of any that was ever yet undertaken. In honour to the fair sex, and in justice to Isabella, we must here mention, that this scheme was first countenanced, and the equipment made by the queen only; the king had no share in it; she even raised, upon her own jewels, the money necessary for the design.

Columbus had then no chart to direct him, no lights from former navigators, no experience of the winds and currents particular to those seas. He had no guide but his own genius, nor any thing to comfort and appease his companions, discouraged and mutinous with the length and hopelessness of the voyage, but some indications which he drew from the casual appearances of land birds and floating sea-weeds, most of them little to be depended

pended upon, but which this wise commander, well acquainted with the human heart, always knew how to turn to the best advantage. It was in this expedition that the variation of the compass was first observed; an appearance which has ever since puzzled all philosophers, and which at this time made a great impression upon the pilots of Columbus; when in an unknown and boundless ocean, far from the road of former navigation, Nature itself seemed altered, and the only guide they had left, appeared to be upon the point of forsaking them. But Columbus, with a wonderful quickness and sagacity, pretended to discover a physical cause for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, was plausible enough to remove something of the terrors of his mariners. However, the crew insisted on his returning, and grew loud and insolent in their demand. Some even talked of throwing the admiral overboard.

His invention, and almost his hopes were near exhausted, when the only thing which could appease them happened; the clear discovery of land, after a voyage of thirty-three days, the longest ever any man was known to be from sight of shore before that time. They landed on one of the Islands now called Lucayos, or Bahamas, which is remarkable for nothing but this event; and here it was that the two worlds were first introduced to one another; a meeting of an extraordinary nature, and which produced great changes in both. The first thing Columbus did, after thanking God for the success of this important voyage, was to take possession of the Island in the name of their Catholick Majesties, by setting up a cross upon the shore; great multitudes of the inhabitants looking on, ignorant and unconcerned at a ceremony which was to deprive them of their natural liberty. The stay of the Spaniards in this Island was but short; they found from the extreme poverty of the people, that these were by no means the Indies, which they sought for.

Columbus at his departure very prudently took with him some of the natives, that they might learn the Spanish tongue, and be his guides and interpreters in this new scene of affairs. He touched on several of the Islands in the same cluster, enquiring every where for gold, which was the only object of commerce he thought worth his care, because the only thing that could give the court of Spain an high opinion of his discoveries. All directed him to a great Island called Bohio, of which they spoke great things, and principally that it abounded with gold. They told him it lay to the Southward. To the Southward he steered his course, and found the Island, which he called Hispaniola, no ways inferior to the reports; commodious harbours, an agreeable climate, a good soil, and, what was of most consequence, a country that promised from some samples, a great abundance of gold; inhabited by an humane and hospitable people, in a state of simplicity fit to be worked upon.

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These circumstances determined Columbus to make this Island the center of his designs, to plant a colony there, and to establish things in some permanent order before he proceeded to further discoveries. But to carry his designs of a settlement here, and his schemes of future discoveries into execution, it was necessary that he should return to Spain, and equip himself with a proper force. He had now collected a sufficient quantity of gold to give credit to his voyage at court, and such a number of curiosities of all kinds as might strike the imaginations, and engage the attention of the people. Before he parted, he took care to secure the friendship of the principal king of the island by caresses and presents, and under pretence of leaving him a force sufficient to assist him against his enemies, he laid the ground work of a colony. He built a fort, and put a small garrison of Spaniards into it, with such directions for their conduct as might have insured their safety, and the good offices of the inhabitants, if the men had not been of that kind, who are incapable of acting prudently either from their own or other peoples wisdom. He did every thing to gain the esteem of the natives, by the justice, and even generosity of his dealings, and politeness and humanity with which he behaved upon every occasion. He shewed them too, that though it was not in his will, it was not the less in his power to do them mischief, if they acted so as to force him upon harsher measures. The surprizing effects of his cannon, and the sharpness of the Spanish swords, of which he made an innocent ostentation, convinced them of this.

When the Spaniards first arrived in that country, they were taken for men come from heaven; and it was no wonder, considering the extreme novelty of their appearance, and the prodigious superiority they had in every respect over a people in all the nakedness of uncultivated nature. Whatever therefore the Indians got from them, they valued in an high degree, not only as curious and useful, but even as things sacred. The persons of the Spaniards were respected in the same light. Columbus, who knew the value of opinion, did all he could to keep them in their error; and indeed no action of his, either of weakness or cruelty, could furnish matter to undeceive them. For which reason, on his departure, he left the people with the best inclinations imaginable to nurse his infant colony.

On his return homewards, he touched upon several Islands to the Southward, and discovered the Caribbees, of the barbarity of whose inhabitants he had heard terrible accounts in Hispaniola. He had before landed upon Cuba in his passage from the Bahamas. So that in this his first voyage, he gained a general knowledge of all the islands, which lie in such an astonishing number in that great sea which divides North and South America. But hitherto he neither knew nor suspected any continent between him and China.

B Y C O L U M B U S.

On his return to Europe, after an absence of above six months, he was driven by a great storm into the harbour of Lisbon. This he did not look upon as a misfortune; since here, he had the satisfaction of convincing the Portuguese of what an error they were guilty in rejecting his proposals. It was now his turn to triumph. The Portuguese, who had began to make a figure in navigation, considered discovery as their proper province; and they were enraged to see, that the Castilians were now let into the same path, in consequence of an offer which they had rejected. Some proposed to murder the admiral; but all were agreed to treat him in the most unworthy manner. However, their design of insulting him gave Columbus an opportunity at once of gratifying his resentment, maintaining his own dignity, and asserting the honour of the flag of Castile. He sent to the king at his first entering the harbour, to desire liberty to come up to Lisbon and refresh, as he had orders not to avoid his ports; adding, that he was not from Guinea, but the Indies. An officer of the King of Portugal came aboard him with an armed force, and desired him to come ashore, and give an account of himself to the king's officers. Columbus told him he had the honour of serving the king of Castile, and would own himself accountable to no other. The Portuguese then desired him to lend the master of his ship; this he likewise refused, saying, that the admirals of Castile always chose rather to die than deliver up themselves, or even the meanest of their men, and if violence was intended, he was prepared to meet force with force. A spirited behaviour, in almost any circumstance of strength, is the most politic as well as the most honourable course; we preserve a respect at least by it, and with that we generally preserve every thing; but when we lose respect, every thing is lost. We invite rather than suffer insults, and the first is the only one we can resist with prudence. Columbus found this; the officer did not pursue his demand; the admiral had all the refreshments he wanted, and was even received at court with particular marks of distinction.

He proceeded from Lisbon to Seville; the court was then at Barcelona. But before he went to give an account of his voyage, he took all the care he could to provide for another. He wrote an abstract of his proceedings, and sent with it a memorial of all such things, as were necessary for the establishment of a colony, and for further discoveries. Soon after he began his journey to Barcelona, every where followed by the admiration and applauses of the people, who crowded to see him from all parts. He entered the city in a sort of triumph. And certainly there never was a more innocent triumph. He had not destroyed, but discovered nations. The Americans he brought with him appeared in all the uncouth finery of their own country, wondered at by every body, and themselves admiring every thing they saw. The several animals, many highly beautiful, and all strangers to this part of the world, were so disposed as to be seen without difficulty; the other curiosities of

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the new world were displayed in the most advantageous manner; the utensils, the arms, and the ornaments of the people, so remote from us in situation and manners; some valuable for the materials; even the rudeness of the workmanship in many made them but the more curious, when it was considered by whom, and with what instruments they were wrought. The gold was not forgotten.

The admiral himself, who closed the procession, was received by the king and queen with all imaginable marks of esteem and regard, and they ordered a magnificent throne to be erected in public to do him the greater honour. A chair was prepared for him, in which he sat, and gave, in presence of the whole court, a full and circumstantial account of all his discoveries, with that composedness and gravity, which is so extremely agreeable to the Spanish humour, and with the modesty of a man who knows he has done things which do not need to be proclaimed by himself. The successful merit of Columbus was understood by every body; and when the king and queen led the way, all the grandees and nobility of the court vied with each other in their civilities and compliments.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

DESIGNS like those of Columbus were not to be sacrificed to the glare of pomp and parade: his mind was bent on nobler pursuits; and, instead of being satisfied with the success that had hitherto accompanied his undertaking, he prepared with all expedition for a second voyage. The difficulties attending the first were all vanished. The importance of the object appeared every day more clearly, and the court was willing to second the vivacity of his desires to the full. He was made governor with the highest authority, and had a fleet of seventeen sail of ships, with all manner of necessaries for settlement or conquest, and fifteen hundred men on board, some of them of the best families in Spain. With this fleet he set sail on his second voyage the 25th of September, 1493. He gave each of the captains instructions for their course sealed, with orders not to open them, unless in distress, and separated from the fleet, that he might create such an absolute dependence of all upon himself, as should preserve an uniformity in their designs.

On the 2d of November they made land, which is the island now called Dominica. But his design was first to settle his colony before he attempted any new discovery, therefore he made no stay here, nor at several other islands at which he touched before he could make Hispaniola. On his arrival he found the fort he had built utterly demolished, and all his men killed. The Spaniards had

had first fallen out among themselves, upon the usual subjects of strife, women and gold; and afterwards preserving as little harmony with the natives, and observing no decency in their behaviour, or justice in their dealings, they quickly lost their esteem, and were every man murdered, after having been dispersed into different parts of the island. The prince, whom they were left to defend, was himself wounded in their defence, and bore this mark of his affection and good faith, when Columbus returned to the island.

The admiral very wisely forbore to make any nice enquiry into the affair, or to commence hostilities in revenge for the loss of his soldiers; but he took the most effectual measures to prevent such an evil for the future: he chose a more commodious station for his colony, on the North-east part of the island, which had a good port, great conveniency of water, and a good soil, and lay near that where he was informed the richest mines of the country were found: in gratitude to his royal patroness, he called it Isabella. He engaged in the settlement with great warmth, and never allowed himself a moment's repose from superintending the fortifications, the private houses, and the works of agriculture; in all which the fatigue was infinite; for he had not only the natural difficulties attending all such undertakings, but he had the insuperable laziness of the Spaniards to contend with. So that, spent with the fatigues of so long a voyage, and the greater fatigues he had endured since he came on shore, he fell into a dangerous illness. Of this accident several of his men took the advantage to begin a rebellion, to undo all he had done, and to throw every thing into the most terrible confusion. These people, on their leaving Spain, had fancied to themselves that gold was to be found every where in this country, and that there required nothing further to make ample estates, than to be transported into it: but finding their mistake, and that, instead of receiving these golden showers without any pains, they fared ill, laboured hard, and that their prospects of a fortune, if any at all, were remote and uncertain, their discontent became general; and the mutinous disposition increased so fast, and was carried to such extremities, that if the admiral had not recovered at a very critical time, and on his recovery had not acted in the most resolute and effectual manner, all his hopes of a settlement in Hispaniola had been at an end. He was however satisfied with imprisoning some of the chiefs, as this was neither a time nor a place for very extensive or rigorous justice.

He quelled this sedition; but he saw at the same time that this work was not yet done: he saw another danger, against which he was to provide with equal diligence. He had good reasons to apprehend, that the Americans were not well affected to their new guests, and might probably meditate to cut them off, whilst they saw them divided among themselves. To prevent this, as well as to banish idleness from among his men, and to revive milita-
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ry discipline, he marched into the heart of the country, through the most frequented parts of it, in order of battle, colours flying, and trumpets sounding, with the flower of his troops, to the mountains of Cibao, where lay the richest mines then discovered in the island. Here he built a fort to secure this advantageous post, and overawe the country; and then he returned in the same pomp and order, to the inexpressible terror of the inhabitants, who had now no prospect of withstanding so formidable a force.

Columbus made great ostentation of his cavalry in this expedition. This was the first time the Indians of America had ever seen horses. Their dread of these animals and their riders were extreme; they thought both formed but one animal, and the impetuosity of their charge appeared irresistible to these naked and ill-armed people. Wherever they appeared, those Indians who intended any hostility, immediately fled; nor did they think the intervention of the deepest and most rapid rivers any security; they believed that the horses could fly, and that nothing was impossible to creatures so extraordinary. But Columbus did not rely upon these prejudices, though he made all imaginable use of them; knowing that those things which appear most terrible at first, become every day less affecting by use, and that they even grow contemptible, when their real power is once well known. For which reason, he neglected none of his former methods of cultivating the affections of the natives: he still shewed them all manner of respect, and when he had taken two persons of their nation, who had committed some acts of hostility, and was at the point of putting them to death, he pardoned and set them free at the intercession of a prince of the country, with whom he was in alliance. On the other hand he saw how necessary it was to preserve a strict discipline amongst the Spaniards, to keep them from that idleness to which they had such a propensity, and which naturally retarded the growth of the colony, at the same time that it nourished discontent and sedition. He employed them in cutting roads through the country, a work which the natives never attempted themselves, nor now endeavoured to oppose, though it be one of the best instruments of enslaving any barbarous people. This wise governor observed besides, that the Spaniards conformed with great difficulty to the Indian manner of living, to which, however, they were necessitated, but from which, for want of use, they suffered great hardships. To remedy this evil, he daily sent out small parties upon expeditions into the country; from which he derived two material advantages. First, he enured by degrees, all his people to the manner of living in the country; and secondly, he taught them to know it perfectly, lest a war should find them unprovided in their only point in which the Indians were their superiors, and a point which in a woody and mountainous country is certainly of the greatest importance.

All this he did without any material hazard to the sum of his affairs.

affairs. At home, he endeavoured to withdraw the Spaniards from their romantic hopes of miraculous treasures, and to fix them to a rational and industrious course of life. He represented to them, that there was no real wealth but what arose from labour; and that a garden, a corn ground, and a mill, were richer more to their present purpose, than all the gold they were in expectation of meeting in the Indies. In short, he laboured for the establishment of this colony with as much assiduity, as though his views had extended no further; at the same time that he meditated the greatest discoveries, and considered those things which had astonished the world, only as the earnest of what was to follow.

His colony having now taken firm root in the Indies, he began to turn his attention to Cuba, which seemed to him a rich discovery; but whether it was an Island, or a part of some great continent, he was still in doubt of. He prepared with all expedition to ascertain this point, and to push his discoveries to the utmost; but this voyage was more remarkable for the hardships which the admiral and his men suffered, than for any considerable discoveries it produced. As he endeavoured to coast along the Southern shore of Cuba, he was entangled in a labyrinth of an innumerable multitude of Islands, among which he reckoned 160 in one day. They were most of them pleasant and well inhabited, affording our navigator an agreeable meditation on this fertility of nature, where the world looked for nothing but a barren ocean. These Islands, Columbus, who had a grateful mind, in which the memory of his benefactress was always uppermost, called *Jardin de la Reyna*, or the queen's garden, in honour of queen Isabella. But their number and fertility made little amends for the obstruction they gave Columbus in the course of his navigation. The coast absolutely unknown, among so many rocks, sands, and shelves; the sudden and violent storms, the tornadoes, and the terrible thunder and lightning so constant between the tropics, obliged him to keep a continual watch, and held his mind upon a constant stretch; the voyage was extended to an unprofitable length by these difficulties; and being driven out to sea, the worst disaster of all befel them: their provisions fell short. In this extremity they were obliged to come to a very narrow and bad allowance, in the distribution of which the admiral fared no better than the rest.

In this unremitted fatigue of body and of mind, in famine and in danger, his usual firmness began nearly to forsake him; but it could go no further than oblige him to remark in his journal, that no interest of his own should ever oblige him to engage again in such an enterprise. They were at last relieved by the appearance of Jamaica, where they were hospitably received, and supplied with Cassava bread and water. From thence they proceeded mortified and disappointed, to Hispaniola, not being able to come to any certainty concerning Cuba, other than what they understood.

flood from some of the inhabitants, that it was an Island. This disappointment, and the infinite fatigue and difficulty of the voyage, threw Columbus into a lethargy, which was near being fatal to him, and of which he was scarcely recovered when they arrived at the harbour of Isabella, where they found all things in confusion, and the colony in the utmost danger of being a second time utterly destroyed; as if its prosperity or destruction depended upon the presence or absence of Columbus. For no sooner was he sailed, than the Spaniards, who were with difficulty retained in their duty by all his steadiness and wisdom, broke thro' all regulations, laughed at government and discipline, and spread themselves over the island, committing a thousand disorders, and living at free quarter upon the inhabitants, whose hatred to them was worked up to such a point, that they wanted only the word from their princes to fall on and massacre the whole colony, which was by no means impracticable, in its present disorder. Four of the principal sovereigns of the island took advantage of this disposition, and united to drive out those imperious intruders. None adhered to them but one called Gunacagarry, the same prince whom Columbus from the first had taken so much pains to oblige. In his dominions some of the Spaniards found protection. The other princes had already commenced hostilities, and one of them killed sixteen of the Spaniards.

In this state of confusion was the island on the arrival of Columbus, whose first business was to collect the scattered fragments of the colony; and to form them into a body. This he was the better able to accomplish, because the present danger added a weight to his authority; but it was necessary that he should lose no time. He was resolved to act with what force he had, rather than wait until the union of the islanders might be better cemented against him, and they might find some lesser matters in their favour to raise their courage, and abate their terror of the Spanish arms. He therefore first marched against the king, who had killed the sixteen Spaniards, as it was an enterprise coloured with an appearance of justice, and because that prince happened to be the worst prepared to receive him. He was easily subdued, and several of his subjects sent prisoners into Spain.

The second whom Columbus designed to attack being better prepared against force, he was resolved to circumvent him by fraud, and got him into his power by stratagem, which did no honour to his sincerity, and rather shewed great weakness in this unfortunate barbarian, than any extraordinary contrivance in those who deceived him. The other princes were not terrified at these examples. Their hatred to the Spaniards increased; and perceiving that all depended upon a sudden and vigorous exertion of their strength, they brought an immense army into the field, arrayed in the largest plain in that country. Columbus, though he had but a small force did not scruple to go out to meet them.

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His army consisted but of two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty wolf dogs. The latter part of this army had a very ludicrous appearance; but it was a very serious matter amongst a people no better provided with arms offensive or defensive than the Indians. Neither was it rash in Columbus to venture an engagement against forces so vastly superior in numbers, for when such numbers are no better skilled or armed than these were, their multitude is in fact no just cause of dread but to themselves. The event was answerable; the victory was decisive for the Spaniards, in which their horses and dogs had a considerable share; the loss on the side of the Indians was very great. From that day forward they despaired and relinquished all thoughts of dislodging the Spaniards by force. Columbus had but little difficulty in reducing the whole island, which now became a province of Spain, had a tribute imposed, and forts built in several parts to enforce the levying of it, and to take away from this unhappy people all prospect of liberty in future.

At this period, America was without almost any of those animals by which we profit so greatly. It had neither horses, nor oxen, nor sheep, nor swine. Columbus brought eight sows into America, and a small number of horned cattle. This was the stock which supplied about two hundred years ago, a country now the most abounding in these animals of any part of the known world; in which too it has been a business, for this century past, to hunt oxen merely for their hides. An example which shews how small a number might originally have served to produce all the animals upon earth.

Such are the narrow views of invidious and self-interested minds, that whilst Columbus was reducing this wealthy island to the obedience of the crown of Castile, and laying the foundations of the Spanish grandeur in America, his enemies were endeavouring, with pains as indefatigable, to ruin him in Spain. Some of the persons principally concerned in the late disorders, fled to Spain before his return; and there, to justify their own conduct, and gratify their malice, they accused him of neglecting the colony, and of having deceived their majesties and the adventurers with false hopes of gold, from a country which produced very little either of that metal, or any thing else that was valuable.

These complaints were not without effect; and an officer, fitter by his character for a spy and informer, than a redresser of grievances, was sent to inspect into his conduct; in which manner of proceeding there was certainly a policy as erroneous, as it was unjust and ungrateful. At that distance from the fountain of authority, with an enemy at the door, and a mutinous household, a commander ought always to be trusted or removed. This man behaved in a brutish and insolent manner, like all such persons, who, unconscious of any merit of their own,

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own, are puffed up with any little portion of delegated power. Columbus found that he staid here to no purpose under such disgraceful terms, and that his presence at court was absolutely necessary to his support. He determined to return once more to Spain, convinced that a long absence is mortal to one's interest at court, and that importunity and attendance often plead better than the most solid services. However, before he departed, he exerted the little remains of authority he had left, to settle every thing in such a manner, as to prevent those disorders which hitherto he had always found the certain consequence of his absence. He built forts in all the material parts of the island, to retain the inhabitants in their subjection. He established the civil government upon a better footing, and redoubled his diligence for the discovery of mines, which were to be the great agents in his affairs, nor did he altogether fail of success; but it was the fate of this great man to have his virtue continually exercised with troubles and distress.

He continued his course to Spain, in the latitude of twenty-two, not having at that time discovered the advantageous method of running into the Northern latitudes to meet the South-west winds: they therefore made very little way; a scarcity ensued, in which they were reduced to six ounces of provision a day for each person. On these occasions the admiral fared no better than the common sailor; yet in this distress his hunger did not get the better of the tenderness and humanity which distinguished his character. He refused to listen to the pressing instances of his crew, who were very earnest in this distress to have the Indian prisoners thrown overboard to lessen the consumption of provisions.

In this voyage his skill was as remarkable as his magnanimity. He had nine experienced pilots in his fleet; yet none of them could tell where they were, after having been a full month from the sight of the first land. This length of time persuaded them they must be very near Europe, and they were therefore for crowding sail to make land as soon as possible. But Columbus, upon true observations, maintained they were but a little to the Westward of the Azores, and therefore ordered his sails to be slackened for fear of land. His prediction was fulfilled, and the Azores relieved them the next morning. This, added to a series of predictions and noble discoveries, made his skill seem prophetic, and exalted his character in this respect above all the seamen before his time.

Every accusation and prejudice against the admiral vanished almost as soon as he appeared. He brought such testimonies of his fidelity and good behaviour, as silenced all calumnies which arose on that head; and the large specimens of gold and pearl he produced, refuted all that was said on the poverty of the Indies. The court was fully convinced of the importance of the new colony,

lony, the merit of its governor, and the necessity of a speedy supply. But the admiral's enemies were not idle, though they were silenced, they continued to throw all manner of obstructions in his way, which was a thing not difficult in a country, where every thing is executed with much langour, and where those forms and mechanical methods of business, necessary perhaps in the common course of affairs, but ruinous in great designs, are more exactly observed, than any where else. It was therefore with great difficulty that he was able to procure any relief to be sent to Hispaniola, but with much greater, and after a thousand delays and disappointments, that he was himself enabled to set out on a discovery of more importance than any of the preceding.

The THIRD VOYAGE of COLUMBUS.

IN the course of this third voyage, it was the intention of Columbus to stand to the Southward from the Canaries, until he should come under the equinoctial line, and then to proceed directly Westward, until Hispaniola should bear to the North-west from him, to try what opening that might afford to India, or what new islands or what continent might reward his trouble. He therefore stood away to the Cape de Verd islands, and then South-west. In this navigation a thick fog, which intercepted the light of the sun and the stars, enveloped them for several days; and when this cleared off, the heats were grown so excessive, that the men could not venture between decks. The sun being at this time nearly vertical, the heavy rains which fall at this season between the tropics, without abating the heat, added much to their distress. At last a smart gale sprang up, and they went before it seventeen days to the Westward. The admiral, who could have no second to supply his place, scarce allowed himself a moment's sleep; but in this, as in all his voyages, had the whole burthen of every thing upon himself; this fatigue threw him into a fit of the gout; but neither the fatigue nor the disorder could remove him from the deck, or make him abate of his usual vigilance. His provisions, however, being damaged by the heat, the wine casks many of them burst, and the wine being soured in those that held, obliged him to alter the course he intended to keep Southward, and to decline some points to the North-West, hoping to fall in with some of the Caribbees, where he intended to refit and take in provisions, to enable him to continue his discoveries. But he had not sailed long, when from

the round top a seaman saw land, which was an island on the coast of Guiana, now called Trinidad.

Having passed this island and two others, which lie in the mouth of the great river Oronoquo, he was surprized and endangered by a phenomenon he had never seen before. The river Oronoquo, at all times very great, at this time augmented tenfold by the rains we have just mentioned, rushing into the ocean with an immense and rapid flood, meets the tide, which rises here to a great height, and comes in with much strength; and both being pent up between the islands, and reverberated from one to another, caused a conflict extremely terrifying to those who had not been accustomed to it, and were ignorant of the cause, as Columbus was at this time. But sailing further, he found plainly that he was in fresh water, and judging rightly, that it was probable no island could supply so vast a river, he began to suspect he had discovered the continent. But when he left the river and found that land continued on to the Westward for a great way, he was convinced of it. Satisfied in some measure with this discovery, he yielded to the uneasiness and distresses of his crew, and bore away for Hispaniola, favoured by a fair wind and those currents which set strongly to the Westward all along the Northern coast of South America.

The admiral landed in several places, and traded with the inhabitants, amongst whom he found gold and pearl in tolerable plenty. Contrary to the custom of many navigators, who behave wherever they go as if they never intended to come there again, he every where used the natives with great civility, and gave them what they judged the full value of their commodities; little bells, bits of glass and of tin, with some trifling apparel, being exchanged for gold-dust and pearls, and much to the satisfaction of both parties, who, indeed, with some reason, thought they had each over-reached the other.

Columbus arrived at Hispaniola the 19th of August, 1498, quite worn down with sickness and continual watching; the necessity of which was rather increased than diminished as he came nearer home, among such a multitude of islands and shoals as filled those seas, at this time little known; add to this, that a current, setting strongly Westward towards the continent, threatening every moment, without the greatest attention, to carry him out of his course. So wasted was he with the fatigue, that his brother, whom he had left in his place, scarce knew him at his return. And he found that he was likely to have as little repose upon land as he had experienced upon the ocean.

The authority of the admiral had suffered some diminution, from the ill-judged step of sending a check upon his motions before he left Hispaniola; and the encouragement this gave to all sorts of murmurings and complaints against government, sowed the seeds of a rebellion which sprung up in the colony soon after he left

He left it. But this rebellion was more dangerously formed than either of the former. For in the first place, the rebels had regularly appointed themselves a chief, called Francis Roldan; a man whom the admiral had left in a considerable post: this gave it an uniformity and credit. And secondly, they gained the Indians to their party, by pretending to be their patrons, and the assertors of their liberty. Then, to establish themselves the more securely, they made a secession from the uncorrupted part of the colony, and settled in another part of the island, which formed an asylum for all idle and seditious persons, by whom they were continually reinforced. In this threatening state of things, the admiral having found his forces in no condition to act offensively against the rebels, did what he could to break their force, and dissolve that union which made them formidable. He began by publishing a free pardon for all that chose to cancel their crimes by a timely submission. Observing besides, that many were very desirous of returning to Spain, he gave them to understand they might go with the ships which brought the last succours.

He wrote to court a full account of his late discoveries, and sent samples of the wealth they yielded. He took the same opportunity of describing the distracted state of the colony, desiring that 50 or 60 men might be sent by every ship, which he promised to replace by as many of the rebels. He added very judiciously to his request, that some religious men and able lawyers might be sent him, as the most effectual means of introducing and preserving obedience and order. He then entered into negotiations with the chiefs of the rebels; he granted them all they demanded, and even placed their principal commander, Roldan, in such an office as flattered his pride, though without augmenting his power. Thus things were brought into something of regularity, without any struggling or violence; and Roldan himself, though in his former office of chief judge of the island, contributed most of all towards bringing those who stood out to obedience. There arose a difference between them; and they flew again to arms; but on their first motion, Roldan, by virtue of his authority, seized, condemned, and executed several. By this the rest were awed, all the connexion broke off irretrievably, between the head and body of the rebels, and all done without having any part of the offence, that might be given by this severity, charged to Columbus.

The admiral now began just to breathe in a little tranquillity, acquired by the severest labours, whilst a new storm was gathering against him from the quarter of the court. His old implacable enemies, uniting with some of the rebels who had lately transported themselves into Spain, renewed the clamour against him. They heaped upon him all manner of calumnies; they accused him of a design of setting up for himself; and as they charged him in Hispaniola with cruelty and tyranny to the Indians, here they reversed the charge, and accused him of a popularity amongst that

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people, dangerous to his and their alliance. They added to these, what could not fail to work on national prejudices, that Columbus was a stranger, and had not a proper respect for the Spanish nobility. They complained that great debts were due to them; that all ways of recovering them were shut up. In short, the king and queen never went abroad without being pursued and persecuted, by the clamours of these pretended suitors of justice.

Wearied out with such complaints, they sent a judge, with power to enquire into the admiral's conduct, and authorized, if he should find the accusations proved, to send him into Spain, and remain himself as governor in his room. The judge, who was extremely poor, and whose interest it was to condemn Columbus, no sooner landed in Hispaniola, than he took up his lodging in the admiral's house, for he was then absent. He next proceeded to seize upon all his effects: and at last summoned him and his brothers to appear. In the meantime, he encouraged all manner of accusations, without regarding the character of the accusers, or the probability or consistency of their accusations. In consequence of these, he apprehended the admiral and his brothers, and, with the last marks of insult and indignity, loaded them with irons, and embarked them to be transported prisoners into Europe. The captain of the vessel, touched with respect for the years and great merit of Columbus, offered to take off the irons; but he did not permit it. "Since the king has commanded, that I should obey his governor, he shall find me as obedient to this, as I have been to all his other orders. Nothing but his commands shall release me. If twelve years hardship and fatigue; if continual dangers and frequent famine; if the ocean, first opened, and five times passed and repassed, to add a new world, abounding with wealth to the Spanish monarchy; and if an infirm premature old age, brought on by these services, deserve these chains as a reward, it is very fit I should wear them to Spain, and keep them by me as memorial: to the end of my life."

It is a just remark, that great minds, though more apt to forgive injuries; perhaps, than common souls, do not easily lose the memory of the wrongs that are done them. Columbus afterwards carried these irons with him where-ever he went; they hung constantly in his chamber, and he ordered them to be buried with him.

With respect to the new governor, he made a more effectual provision for the reward of his services; for, besides confiscating the greatest part of the admiral's effects, which he converted to his own use to flatter the people, he permitted an unbounded liberty, by which he ruined the royal revenue, and was near ruining the colony too, past all reparation, if the court had not recalled him in time, and sent a person to succeed him of greater judgment and firmness, though of little more real virtue.

It may not be amiss to enquire into the spirit of discovery, which began to spread itself widely about this time, both in Spain and Portugal. Private adventurers, stimulated by the gold, which was remitted to Europe by Columbus, made equipments at their own expence. In one of these, Amerieus Vesputius commanded; he had got the charts of Columbus, in his last voyage, and sailed the same course. But as he was a man of address, an able seaman and good geographer, he found a way of arrogating to himself the first discovery of the continent of America, and called it by his own name; which it has ever since retained, though no body has any doubt concerning the real discoverer. Pinzon, one who attended the admiral in his first voyage, also equipped a squadron; and was the first who crossed the line at the side of America, and entered the great river Marañon, or the river of Amazons. The Portuguese turned their thoughts to America, and discovered the Brazils, which make the most valuable part of their present possessions.

What animated these adventurers, at the same time that it fixes a stain upon all their characters and designs, is that insatiable thirst of gold, which ever appeared uppermost in all their actions. This disposition hath been a thousand times extremely prejudicial to their affairs: it was particularly the cause of all the confusion in Hispaniola: yet it is certain, that if it were not for this incentive, which kindled the spirit of discovery and colonization first in Spain and Portugal, and afterwards in all parts of Europe, America had never been in the state it now is; nor would those nations ever have had the beneficial colonies, which are now established in every part of that country. It was necessary there should be something of an immediate and uncommon gain, fitted to strike the imaginations of men forcibly, to tempt them to such hazardous designs. To go out with a few haubles, and to return with a cargo of gold, is an object readily comprehended by any body, and was consequently pursued with vigour by all. The speculative knowledge of trade made no part of the study of the elevated or thinking part of mankind, at that time. Now, it may be justly reckoned amongst the liberal sciences; and it makes one of the most considerable branches of political knowledge.

Our colonies were settled without any view to those great advantages which we have drawn from them. Virginia was constructed out of the wrecks of an armament destined on a golden adventure, which first tempted us to America. And those who settled New England and Maryland, meant them only as asylums from religious persecution. So that if America had not promised such an inundation of treasure, it could only have supplied a languid commerce, which would have habituated the natives by degrees to our European manners, and supplied them with equal arms. Then it would have been next to

impossible to have made those extensive settlements in that new world.

The FOURTH and last VOYAGE of COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS was no sooner arrived in Spain, in this disgraceful manner, than the court disavowed and highly blamed the conduct of their governor. And now according to the giddy custom of men who act without plan or principle, they acquitted Columbus of all the charges against him, with as little enquiry into their validity, as they before used, when, upon the same charges, they unjustly condemned him. Restitution and reward were promised him, and he wanted very few incentives to engage once more in discoveries. His ambition was to arrive at the East Indies, and so to surround the globe. This had really an influence upon his own mind, and he knew nothing could so much influence those of the king and queen. On this prospect he was again fitted out with a fleet, promising to reduce both East and West Indies, under the dominion of the court of Spain.

In May, 1502, he embarked upon his fourth voyage. His design was to stand directly for the coast of South-America; and keep along the Northern shore until he should come to the place where he heard an obscure account of some narrow strait (whether a strait or isthmus was not so clear from the accounts he had) and by this, if a strait, he hoped to pass into the great South-Sea. After so very long a voyage as this had been to America, and the discovery of a continent which was not that of India nor that of China, he saw clearly that the maps were no longer in the least to be relied on; he therefore depended solely upon his own ideas. He reviewed the bearings of all the countries which his former experience or his late discoveries had opened to him; he considered the figure of the earth in general; he reasoned upon the balance and distribution of the land and water; and comparing all these, he concluded, that beyond the continent he had discovered, was another ocean, probably as great or greater than that he had formerly passed; if this were so, then it was probable too that these oceans had some communication. He judged it to be near those places since called Veragua and Nombre de Dios; but not thinking his ships fit for that voyage, he proposed to put into Hispaniola to refit, and properly to prepare for so great an undertaking.

Whilst Columbus navigated and resided in the West-Indies, he was extremely diligent in his observations upon the nature of

of the air, the seasons, the meteors, rains and winds; and how each of these seemed to affect the others; nor was he less sagacious in drawing prognostics from the remarkable appearances in all; at this time he judged from observations that a great hurricane was approaching. Before he entered the harbour, he notified his arrival to Obando the governor, with the nature of his design and the condition of his vessels; desiring at the same time that the fleet, which he understood to be on the point of setting sail for Europe, should in consideration of the approaching hurricane defer their departure for some days. But it was his destiny that ingratitude should pursue him every where, and persecute him in every shape. For the governor, without any cause, not only refused to hearken to his advice about the sailing of the ships, but absolutely denied him permission to enter into harbour, to save his life in that island which he himself had discovered and subdued. He had nothing to do but to draw up as close to the shore as he could. The storm came on the next night; but Providence favouring his innocence, and assisting his capacity, brought him safe through it, though as terrible a storm as ever happened in those seas. The fleet of twenty sail, which against his advice had put to sea, suffered the punishment due to their temerity. Only four escaped the storm, sixteen perished. Amongst those which were lost, was the ship which carried back that governor to Spain, who had sent Columbus thither in so oppressive and scandalous a manner; amongst the four that were saved, was one that had on board some treasure, all that could be rescued from the pillage of the admiral's fortune. So that whilst he was mortified at this shameful instance of human ingratitude, Heaven seemed to declare in his favour, and to condemn and punish it. His character was highly raised by the prediction of the storm, and by his behaviour in it; for to his, and his brother's good conduct, the safety of his little fleet was justly attributed. His brother was a navigator and philosopher, second only to the admiral, very useful to his affairs, and, by his capacity and the goodness of his heart, was a comfort and assistant in all his misfortunes.

Having weathered the storm, he left this island, in which he had so surprizing an instance of ingratitude, in pursuit of more matter to employ it. In this voyage he discovered all the coast of Terra Firma to the Isthmus of Darien, where he hoped to have found a passage to the South-Sea. In this he was disappointed, but he was not disappointed in the other part of his project; for every where as he advanced, he became more sensible of the value of his discoveries on the continent. He found a people more civilized, and more abounding in gold than the islanders. He entered a harbour, which from its excellence he called Porto Bello, well known since as one of the greatest openings by which the Spanish commerce is carried on between the two worlds.

worlds. Here the admiral designed to establish a colony, under the command of his brother, proposing to return to Europe himself, to obtain the requisites for a complete settlement. But the avarice and insolence of his men raised the country upon him, and obliged him to relinquish his design, without having an opportunity of doing any thing more than shewing his judgment in the choice of the situation, and his own and brother's bravery in extricating their men from the calamities to which their folly had exposed them.

Being obliged to depart from hence, and finding his vessels in so bad a condition that it was by no means adviseable to proceed upon further discoveries, he quitted the continent, after having discovered the Eastern side of the Isthmus of Darien, and the whole shore as far as Gracios o'Dios in the gulph of Honduras. He then stood over to Hispaniola. His voyage was made under a thousand difficulties of the severest kind; the vessels so leaky, that the crew had not a moment's respite from the pump, and scarce any provision remaining to refresh them after their labours. To complete the sum of their calamities, a violent storm arose, in which the ships fell foul of one another. But though he providentially weathered this storm, it was now scarcely possible to keep his ship above water, and he was glad to make Jamaica, where he was a second time relieved from the greatest dangers and distresses. But a distress of almost as bad a nature exercised his patience and invention here.

His ships were absolutely unfit for service, beyond all possibility of being repaired; no means of getting new; the inhabitants suspicious, and the ill behaviour of his men gave daily occasion to increase those suspicions. In this distress, he prevailed upon some of the hardiest and most faithful of them to pass over in a canoe to Hispaniola, to represent his calamitous situation to the governor, and to beg vessels to carry them off. Eight months did the admiral remain in this island, without the least intelligence from his messengers, or assistance from the governor. The natives grew exasperated at the delay of the Spaniards and the weight of subsisting them, which was a heavy burthen on the poverty of the Indians. Provisions therefore came in very sparingly. Things even threatened to grow much worse; for the seamen mutinied in great numbers. By this mutiny the admiral's authority and strength was considerably weakened, whilst the natives were exasperated by the disorders of the mutineers; but Columbus found means to recover his authority at least among the Indians. Knowing there would shortly be a visible eclipse of the moon, he summoned the principal persons in the island; and by one who understood their language told them, that the God whom he served, and who created and preserves all things in Heaven and earth, provoked at their refusing to support his servants, intended a speedy and severe judgment upon them, of which

which they should shortly see manifest tokens in the Heavens, for that the moon would on the night he marked, appear of a bloody hue, an emblem of the destruction that was preparing for them. His prediction, which was ridiculed for the time, when it came to be accomplished struck the barbarians with great terror. They brought him plenty of provisions; they fell at his feet, and besought him in the most supplicating stile to deprecate the evils which threatened them. He took their provisions, comforted them and charged them to atone for their past sin by their future generosity. He had a temporal relief by this stratagem, but he saw no prospect of getting out of the Island, and pursuing those great purposes to which he had devoted his life.

The mutiny of his men was in danger of growing general, when every thing seemed to be settled by the sight of a ship in the harbour, sent by Obando, the governor of Hispaniola. The governor resolved not only to abandon, but to insult this great man in his misfortune. The captain of the vessel was a mortal enemy to the admiral, and one of the persons principally concerned in those rebellions, which had formerly given him so much trouble. The design of this captain was only to be a witness of the distress of his affairs; for he came ashore forbidding his crew all manner of communication with the admiral or his men; and after delivering to Columbus an empty letter of compliment, embarked without even flattering him with the least hope of relief. Thus abandoned, his firmness and presence of mind alone did not forsake him.

The arrival of this ship for a moment reconciled his men to obedience; but when they saw it depart, they were almost unanimously on the point of shaking off all authority, and abandoning themselves to the most desperate courses. The admiral, without betraying the least sign of disappointment or grief, told them in a cheerful manner, that he had a promise of an immediate supply; that he did not depart in this ship, because she was too small to carry off all the Spaniards who were with him; and that he was resolved not to leave the Island until every man of them might enjoy the same conveniency. The easy and composed air of the admiral himself, and the care he manifested for his people, superior to his own preservation, reconciled their minds, and made them attend their fate with patience. But he knew his delay might be very tedious in this Island, and that as long as there remained a receptacle to which every ill humour among his men might gather, his affairs would grow worse every day. He found those that still adhered to him firmly attached to his cause; he therefore came to a resolution of taking vigorous measures with the rest. He sent his brother, a sensible and resolute man, with a proper force, and well armed, to treat with them; and in case of obstinacy to compel them to obedience. They met, and the captain of the mutineers, grown insolent with a long course of licen-

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licentiousness and rapine, not only rejected the admiral's proposal, but offered violence to his brother; who using this as a signal to his men, prepared for such an accident, they fell upon the rebels with so much resolution, that ten lay dead in a moment with their chief; disordered by the unexpected attack, the rest fled, and soon after were obliged to submit. Thus the admiral pacified every thing with equal spirit and address, sometimes giving way to the storm, and temporizing when he doubted his strength; but when he was assured of it, always employing it with resolution and effect; turning every incident, even the most unfavourable, to his advantage; and watching every change of nature, and every motion of the human mind, to employ them in his purposes.

Columbus might have spent his whole life in this miserable exile, if a private man, moved with esteem for his merit, and compassion to his misfortunes, had not fitted out a ship to his relief. This brought him to Hispaniola. The governor, who refused to contribute any thing to his coming, when he came received him with that overacted complaisance and shew of friendship, which so often succeeds the greatest insolence in base minds, and which they practice with so little shame and remorse to the persons they have before loaded with the greatest injuries. The admiral bore this like every thing else; and, convinced that a dispute with a governor in his own jurisdiction would bring him little advantage or honour, hastened every thing for his departure to Spain, where he arrived after a voyage, in which he was tossed by most terrible storms, and sailed seven hundred leagues after he had lost his main-mast.

He was now grown old, and severely afflicted with the gout. The queen, his patroness, was dead; and the king, of a close and dissembling disposition, and a narrow mind, was the only person he had to soothe his misfortunes, or pay the reward which was due to his labours. But he received neither comfort nor reward. The performance of his contract was deferred upon frivolous pretences; and he employed the close of his life, as he had done the active part of it, in a court solicitation: the most grievous of all employments to any man, the most hopeless to an old man. Vanquished at last by years, fatigues, and disappointments, he died with those sentiments of piety, which supported him through the misfortunes of his life, and added a finishing, which nothing else could give to his greatness of mind, and all those other virtues which so singularly marked his conduct.

In the character of this great man we see many things truly astonishing. To the ideas of the most penetrating philosopher, and a scheme built upon them worthy of a great king, he joined a constancy and patience which alone could carry it into execution, with the fortune of a private man. Continual storms at sea, continual rebellions of a turbulent people on shore, vexations,

tions, disappointments, and cabals at court, were his lot all his life; and these were the only reward of services, which no favours could have rewarded sufficiently. His magnanimity was proof against all these, and his genius surmounted all the difficulties they threw in his way, except that of his payment, the point in which such men ever meet with the worst success, and urge with the least ability. That surprising art, possessed by so few, of making every accident an instrument in his designs; his nice adjustment of his behaviour to his circumstances, temporizing, or acting vigorously as the occasion required, and never letting the occasion itself pass by him; the happy talent of concealing and governing his own passions, and managing those of others; all these conspire to give us the highest idea of his capacity. And as for his virtues, his disinterested behaviour, his immoveable fidelity to the ungrateful crown he served, the just policy of his dealing with the Indians, his caution against giving them any offence, and his tender behaviour to them when conquered, which merited him the glorious title of their father, together with his zeal to have them instructed in the truths of religion, raise him to the elevated rank of those few men whom we ought to consider as examples to mankind, and ornaments to human nature.

The court of Spain, however, were so just to his memory, that they buried him magnificently in the cathedral of Seville, and erected a tomb over him with this inscription:

Columbus has given a new world to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon.

End of the VOYAGES of COLUMBUS.

AN
AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PRESENT
CONTEST
IN
AMERICA.

THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PRESENT
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AT the termination of last war, there was every prospect of future national happiness. We thought ourselves blessed under the power of a mild English born prince; we were in possession of much wealth; commerce flourished; individuals became rich; and if the ministry had not found means to contract our trade, we might have soon arrived at such a state of supineness, that even despotism, if ever intended, might have been easily substituted in the place of freedom.

To attribute to the present ministry the cause of the alarming situation of our country, would be exceedingly unjust; for the evils have been accumulating for above these last twelve years; and originally commenced in Mr. Grenville's administration in 1763. A regulation in the American and West India trade was then introduced, which no minister, possessed of true national policy, would have assented to. This was the prohibition of the Spanish trade.

At the commencement of the last peace, private merchant vessels were fitted out from the Spanish main, the Havannah, and other parts of Cuba, laden with dollars: they came to our ports,

either to East or West Florida, and other southern provinces, and even to some of our West India islands, to exchange their silver chiefly for British commodities. This consequently must have increased the demand for our manufactures; encouraged industry in England; the wholesale dealer must have accumulated wealth; the poor artificer must have found constant employment. In this intercourse and succession of trade, millions of money would have been brought to the mother country. Now this ministerial prohibition effectually prevented these happy effects, and proved the ruin of some, and impoverished many capital merchants in our colonies; for the Americans, and many of our merchant-adventurers, who went to establish a trade in St. Augustine and Pensacola, expecting at a peace either a freedom of commerce, or at least no prohibition, had overstocked their warehouses with English goods; where, owing to the heat of the climate, in a year or two all the perishable commodities were unsaleable. This prohibition, so repugnant to the true spirit of commerce, was in full force for near three years; during which time, many principal merchants in America were ruined, bankruptcies increased, and the ministry at last discovering their injurious mistake, gave free liberty for traffic. This happened too late; for the Spaniards being repeatedly disappointed in their hopes of a trade in our ports, settled a correspondence with the Dutch and French at St. Eustatia and Hispaniola. The first have too much mercantile sagacity not to avail themselves of the errors of the English, or any other nation. When a channel of trade is established, every merchant knows the difficulty of diverting it into another stream.

The effects of this imprudent and impolitic measure were soon evident. In the colonies, and our new acquired settlements, from the latter end of the year 1763 till 1766, were heard nothing but universal murmurs and expressions of discontent. Poverty, in many instances, succeeded affluence: men who before were very happy under the mild English government, from the stagnation of trade had leisure to examine the causes of their sufferings, and arraigned freely the conduct of the minister. The repeal of this prohibition was received however with universal joy, and had these strictures on their trade not soon after been followed by some odious acts, the animosity, the distrust and fears of the colonists then excited, would have naturally subsided.

The effects of this ministerial error were likewise considerable in some of the manufacturing towns in Great Britain. At this time many thousands of sailors and soldiers were discharged from their country's service, and it would have argued the most consummate wisdom in the ministry to have provided labour for such a number of men. This could have been effected by no other means than by an increase of commerce; for this alone promotes a spirit of industry. But contracting the spirited disposition of the mercantile adventurer, and blasting in its infancy his hopes of gain,

was

was productive of innumerable evils. This error, so universally known, though now nearly obliterated by many interesting and more important transactions since, should have induced succeeding ministers to have considered on some mode of reparation to the much injured colonists. It was known to be a positive fact that they were injured, and even Mr. Grenville's friends acknowledged the step to be very impolitic. The injury the colonists received was the very reason that the prohibitory scheme, at first so strenuously insisted on, and so strictly adhered to by the colony governors, was suddenly relinquished.

The merchants of Great Britain were likewise considerable losers, no commerce being more advantageous than the Spanish, who advance ready money for whatever they purchase in those countries. This must have increased the demand for goods from the mother country; and a great part of the Spanish silver would have been remitted home. This trade, instead of being prohibited, should have been encouraged; as this would have greatly increased their wealth, prevented emigrations from England, and the rapid establishment of manufactories of every sort on the continent.

Immediately after distressing the colonies by prohibitory laws, the next injurious measures adopted by the ministry, was the stamp-act. Now it was certainly just, that the colonists, if able, should assist in reducing the national debt; as their defence had incurred an expence of several millions: but before they had recovered themselves from the bad consequences of a restriction of their traffic; before they had repaired the damages their trade had sustained; and while the baneful subject was recent in their memories; an oppressive tax is introduced. First, a ministerial doctrine, equal to extreme madness in a trading country, is enforced, that stabs the very vitals of commerce; and impoverishes, in some degree, a whole country: then, before the universal murmurs are subdued, the Americans are alarmed by a new law. We first destroyed the very means which enabled them to pay a tax, and then we are so unreasonable as to complain of the opposition and resistance, that even necessity causes.

If the Americans had been in a way of accumulating wealth by an increase of trade, it is not irrational to conclude, that they might have cheerfully submitted even to internal taxation. It is about this period, however that we may venture to fix the origin of our present inquietudes; and it is evident, that we became the first aggressors, by our prohibitions of commerce, and by an ill-timed zeal for lessening the national debt. By these means, we have excited a spirit of resentment among the colonists; which will require our utmost wisdom to appease.

The stamp-act was soon after repealed, as it was the cause of the most violent commotions all through the continent of America; but a number of leading men, warmed with the love of freedom

on that side the Atlantic, suspecting the designs of the ministry, began to display their powers as patriots, and a spirit of opposition soon appeared in different parts of America. The unbounded power of parliament was disputed; a notion that taxation and representation was inseparable, according to the English constitution, was strongly inculcated. In such a disposition of the people, there are seldom wanting men, who, either through ambition, or an insatuated and blind zeal for the interest of their country, are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the public good. There are many such disinterested men in America, and it were to be wished we had a greater number in England.

Notwithstanding this repeated opposition in the colonists, though there was every reason, from what had already happened, to conclude that internal taxation at that time would excite universal disgust; yet, by a strange fatality, it was persisted in, with an inflexible obstinacy on the side of the ministry. The repealing the stamp act was constantly condemned as impolitic, and a new mode of taxing was planned and agreed to; this was the tea act; for, we pass over many acts that produced no small convulsions in America, which the American servants of government imprudently concealed. This new act, intended to be forced on the Americans, merely to assist the East-India Company, was considered as a fresh insult, and received universal disapprobation. The tea was never suffered to be landed; a very considerable quantity was destroyed by the populace, and though various means, and some not the most honourable were used, to enforce obedience to this law, they all proved ineffectual.

An universal alarm began now to spread throughout the continent, and the ministry influenced both houses to pass an act, to shut up the port of Boston, till reparation was made by the colony of Massachusetts Bay, for the loss sustained by the destruction of the tea. This act was passed precipitately, and their agent, Dr. Franklin, was not permitted to deliver his defence, or to offer restitution for the loss, or advance the objections of his constituents to this restraining bill.

This act, equally involving the innocent and guilty, raised the greatest tumults, and excited such distracted convulsions on the whole continent, that the colonists began to assemble in arms, and prepare themselves for a resistance. These preparations were well known in England, and treated with the utmost contempt by the court and ministry.

The Americans were, unhappily for this country, considered as a rabble, who would soon disperse at the appearance of the king's regular troops. The first lord of the Admiralty, spoke freely of driving them with a few hundred soldiers, all thro' their country; ten thousand men were soon in Boston, and the Provincials by this time had trained a considerable number of men ready to take the field.

Things

Things were in this situation, till the 18th of April 1775, on the evening of which day, a detachment, from the king's army, consisting of about eight hundred men, commanded by Lieut. Col. Smith, embarked at the bottom of the common in Boston, on board a number of boats, and landed at Phip's Farm, a little way up Charles river, from whence they proceeded, with silence and expedition, on their way to Concord, about eighteen miles from Boston.

The people were soon alarmed; and began to assemble in several towns before day-light, in order to watch the motion of the Regulars. At Lexington, six miles below Concord, a company of Militia mustered near the meeting-house, the regulars came in sight of them a little before sun rise, and running within a small distance of them, the commanding officer called out to the militia, and ordered them to lay down their arms; upon which the militia huzza'd, and immediately one or two of the regular officers discharged their pistols. This was instantaneously followed by the fire of four or five of the soldiers, and then there seemed to be a general discharge from the whole body. Eight of the Militia were killed, and nine wounded.

The Regulars then renewed their march for Concord, where they knocked off the trunnions of three pieces of cannon, burnt some new gun carriages, and a great number of carriage wheels, and threw into the river a considerable quantity of flower, gun-powder, musket balls, and other articles, and thus accomplished the end of their expedition. At this instant, a body of Provincials, going towards a bridge, of which the regulars were in possession, were fired upon, and two of them killed; this brought on a kind of regular engagement, when the King's troops were obliged to retreat to Lexington, where they met Lord Percy with a large reinforcement, and two pieces of cannon.

The Regulars having halted an hour or two at Lexington, found it necessary to make a second retreat, carrying with them many of their dead and wounded, whom they put into chaises and on horses they found standing on the road. They continued their retreat from Lexington to Charles-Town with great precipitation, and notwithstanding their field pieces, the Provincials continued their pursuit, firing at them till they got to Charles-Town Neck, which they reached after sun-set, and entered Boston soon afterwards, under the protection of the Somerset Man of War of 64 guns. The King's forces acknowledged on this occasion, the loss of about three hundred men, killed or wounded; and the Provincials estimated their loss at about one hundred.

This first commencement of hostilities was soon followed by another of a still more serious nature, as it was more fatal in its consequences. On the 17th of June following, an alarm was given at break of day, by a firing from the Lively Ship of War; and advice was soon after received, that the Provincials had broken ground.

ground, and were raising a battery on Bunker's-hill, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and in a few hours a battery of six guns played upon the works.

Preparations were instantly made by the Regulars for landing a body of men to drive them off; for which purpose General Gage dispatched a large body of forces, accompanied with some field artillery, under the command of Major-General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, who landed on the Peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, whose incessant fire obliged the Provincials to keep within their works.

The Regulars formed as soon as landed; the light infantry posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon the left. The 5th and 38th battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the 43d and 52d battalion made a third line. The Provincials upon the heights were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt thrown up on the 16th at night, and other works full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in Charles-Town, covered their right flank; and their center and left were covered with a breast-work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystic, or Medway river.

The strong appearance of the Provincials, and the large columns seen pouring into their assistance, occasioned an application for the Regulars to be re-inforced, with some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the 47th and the 1st battalions of marines; the whole, when in conjunction, making a body of above 2000 men. These troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began from a sharp cannonade from the King's field pieces and hawitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry was directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the Provincial line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the 5th and 52d battalion. Here began a most horrible scene of blood and slaughter; the Regulars received a heavy fire from the Provincials, who maintained their post with the most obstinate bravery: the King's troops were broken: they were rallied again by their officers, and at last became masters of the field, after having lost many of their best officers, and the better half of their little army. Happily for the Regulars, the Provincials had expended all their ammunition, and were therefore no longer able to stand to the charge.

Administration was taught, by these two events, that the Provincials were not so dastardly as represented; and they might have foreseen, that it became then absolutely necessary, either to listen to a plan of accommodation, or prosecute the war with vigor. The first might have been easily effected by negotiating with the congress, and paying some respect to their petition; the

the latter has been adopted; and must inevitably be productive of irreparable injury to this country.

Hence it appears, the mother country has at first been the cause of the present calamities. By prohibiting a mercantile people from extending their trade, by compulsory acts of taxation; by forcing the natives of America to be tried in England for acts transacted there; by sending out an armed force to subdue that spirit of liberty which diffused itself gradually through the whole continent; by shutting up one of their principal ports, and by an act, still more powerful and dangerous in its consequences, the prohibition of all future intercourse with the mother country. These, and other causes of the present evils, may be attributed to the English. On the side of the Americans, we find a distrust and violent resistance; an enthusiastic zeal for liberty; a spirit ready to brave danger and death; a determined resolution to transmit to posterity the British freedom, as it is called, inviolate.

On the side of government there has constantly appeared a degree of rashness and want of foresight in all their measures, which seem more like a series of inconsistent experiments, than the steady and wise councils of a great nation. The Americans have slowly watched, and with an uncommon sagacity and deliberation discovered our errors, and embraced such advantages, as to make things that at first appeared trivial, very dangerous and alarming.

Whatever were the intentions of former ministers, it is evident, that an unacquaintance of the true spirit of commerce, and rashness afterwards, laid the first foundation of the present ills, for here they originate.

It was this fatal political blunder which first roused a spirit in the Americans to establish manufactories of every sort: and great encouragement was given to all inferior artificers in every trade. This, at all events ought to have been prevented; and Lord Chatham's idea of not even suffering the Americans to forge a hob-nail, was truly political. For an increase of the mechanical arts in America, must positively, above all other things, lay the foundation for a total independance, and prove exceeding injurious to our trade. To whom then are we obliged, for this impolitic step? To the ministry of 1763. From several parts of Germany, last peace, thousands of disbanded soldiers and others emigrated to the American continent, and met with various employment; and it is amazing, what a progress has been made towards establishing different works in every part of America: but this, probably, would not have happened for a century to come, had not a spirit of industry prevailed, owing to the stagnation of trade, and the multiplicity of unemployed members in the community.

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The repeal of the stamp act was thought impolitic, though it would be difficult to determine why; for, certainly, if an act of the legislature raises universal discontent; when the subjects, by its violence, consider themselves oppressed, such objects are well worthy of consideration; and it argues the greatest political wisdom, for a prince and ministry to endeavour to remove whatever causes suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the people. The stamp-act, if even constitutional, was ill-timed; and from this period, the unlimited right of Great-Britain over her colonies began to be disputed with great warmth and acrimony by the different parties.

The ministry conceive, that the legislature have an unlimited power over the colonies; the colonists, already oppressed by some unpopular acts, consider themselves free; and that taxation and representation are inseparable according to the English constitution; they are not fairly represented in the British parliament, of course they consider themselves not obliged to comply with the commands of parliament; they were moreover induced to support this first doctrine, as Lord Camden had publicly declared himself in favour of this opinion. This point has never yet been clearly discussed, though it is certainly a very important question, and required the most deliberate and solemn consideration; in fact it ought to have been determined before any violent measures had been pursued against the Americans.

The arguments that have been produced by the writers on the side of government, are in general these: that the legislature have constantly framed particular laws for regulating the trade of the colonies: and it is inferred from this, that we have equal power over their internal taxes; another argument is, that several large trading towns are not represented, as they do not send any members to the house of commons. It is urged likewise by the present ministry, that there is an end to all subordination, if the acts of the legislative body of king, lords and commons are ever disputed, much less resisted. That it is absolute rebellion to oppose these laws, however oppressive to the subjects, if they pass both houses and receive royal approbation. These are the principal arguments of the ministry and their friends, in favour of those measures that have so much engaged the attention of the public.

It is next to impossible to ascertain what is constitutional according to the foregoing ministerial doctrines, or the arguments produced against them by the patriots or friends of America. Both parties are violent, in which case we may be nearer the truth if we observe a medium. But now it is not so immediately necessary to determine on the right of parliament, as to consider whether the Americans have been oppressed; and, if they admitted the power of parliament, whether such submission would

not be subversive of liberty, and hereafter reduce them to a state of slavery.

That every people ought to be obedient to the laws of the country in which they live, is a fact that few will dispute; of course it follows, that whatever laws are framed in this country, by the king, lords and commons, the people ought to be obedient to them. But if laws are introduced repugnant to the true spirit of the constitution, an innocent man may be sacrificed agreeably to the laws of his country. For the act has received the approbation of king, lords and commons, from whom there is no appeal. So that to determine the justice of either laws or measures, the first question should be; is the law obtained by ministerial influence? Or, are the members who passed it disinterested and uncorrupt? If they are, we have reason to conclude the act passed to be wisely ordained for the public tranquillity: but if not, we have reason to suspect the professions of ministers, and the principles by which it gained assent.

If these wrongs are severely felt by individuals, and the community in general, and if they are unjust, or have a direct tendency to injustice, what have subjects to do in such instances? Are they tamely to submit to the yoke, and become a country of slaves? According to the ministerial idea of the subordinate state of the subject they ought. By what means then can it be discovered, whether the law is contrary to the original spirit of the constitution, or not? If it can be judged, that an act has passed subversive of our ancient liberties, and obtained entirely by corruption, what must be done? If the people who feel the oppression prepare for an opposition, and arm in defence of their rights, they are immediately termed rebels, and become the objects of ministerial vengeance. Is it unlawful then to make resistance in any case? If it is, there is no such thing as English liberty.

If rash and unconstitutional proceedings on the side of Great Britain have been the original cause of discontents; ought not these causes to be removed? Or has Great Britain, now in her peevish and declining old age, a right to commit injuries to her colonies, and insult them if they complain? Or are we to rest satisfied, that all the measures on our side are perfectly constitutional, that we have attempted no improper use of our power; and the ministers and their friends are something more than human? Men possessing a most ardent love for their country, its commerce and laws; men, whose souls are so elevated, as to be above being guided or directed by any invisible power; men, who have acted consistent with their dignity, honor, and conscience. Have they been, or are they such perfect beings? Ask the parties themselves; or let us appeal to the unprejudiced judgment of the discerning part of the whole nation. The present evils have been long accumulating; and are owing to many ill-concerted plans for increasing the duties on several articles, and a
new

new system of internal taxation. On the side of the colonies, there have been many measures pursued, which we should have prevented, or in the first instances suppressed.

It has happened that when the popular clamours were high in America, that some men of republican principles encouraged the commotions, which otherwise might have subsided. Besides, all over the continent, the generality of the people are enthusiasts in religion; and their clergy chiefly dissenters. It is not difficult to conceive, with what alacrity they would increase a war-like spirit amongst their flock; and this will have much greater influence than is imagined.

It is easy for their field preachers to insinuate the absolute necessity of bearing arms; the rewards prepared in heaven for those Christian heroes who fall in the present contest; the real necessity of a war, in defence of religious liberty. This last is a most precious and prevailing pretext; and it is easy to persuade the ignorant majority, that the roman catholic religion is going to be introduced; and, as proofs, they may artfully mention the Quebec act. They may pretend, that they are frequently visited by the supreme being in visions, and relate, how acceptable in heaven will those be, who seal their lives with their blood in so righteous a cause.

Many such stratagems, under the disguised veil, and sanctity of religion, are constantly used on that side the Atlantic, to increase our mutual animosities; and it is certainly to be expected, that men buoyed up with such assurances of heaven will fight desperately. In all religious contests, we find an unexampled bravery, that no dangers disconcert; and a constancy and firmness that no force can withstand.

Besides the number of factious men abroad, in this country too, there are men so unprincipled, as to sacrifice their probity, honor, love of their country; in short, every thing, on no other principle than to oppose the operations of government. If the measures of the ministry were ever so consistent and justifiable, these men are ever hanging out deceitful and alluring baits to catch the vulgar populace; their very political existence and admiration depends on rendering odious the conduct of the prince and ministers: they spend their whole lives in violent opposition and uproar. In short, modern patriotism is nothing more than a frantic zeal, inspired by designing men, into weak and impetuous minds. There remains so small a portion of public spirit amongst us, that many men, who should possess the most noble, independant and disinterested principles, are ready to sacrifice every tender tie, every thing great and excellent, for the mean consideration of some temporary bribe, or peculiar emolument. Their own extravagance obliges them to be ready to prostitute themselves to a servile dependancy; and if disappointed in their expectations of preferment, in a fit of despair they commence pretended

pretended patriots, affect popularity, harass and perplex the ministry, and injure the whole empire.

It has been advanced, in favour of taxation, that many great trading towns are not represented by members in the British parliament; and, therefore the Americans are equally obliged to be obedient to the laws as well as these people. Though the light of the sun might as well be compared to the glimmering of a candle, as an English trading town to such an extensive country as America; yet this has been artfully introduced as a powerful argument in favour of the present disposition to tax the colonists; and so ne thoughtless and weak men are perfectly satisfied with its validity.

Now the case of the Americans, and the inhabitants of a trading town, is in no respect similar. In these trading towns, all the people are upon an equal footing with the individuals in every part of the kingdom: besides, though the particular towns are not represented, the country is; and there is no town in England, which has not several members, of both lords and commons, near them. The members of both houses are three thousand miles from the Americans. If the ministry were inclined to raise an additional tax on any of our manufacturing towns, to which they had not been accustomed, would such a law pass without a violent opposition? Would not several members oppose the law: and are they not on the spot ready to raise the alarm? And would the most violent opposition in England be construed by the ministry into rebellion against the prince? Would they call forth a military force in this country, to subdue the refractory into obedience? It is presumed they would act with more caution. Who has pleaded the cause of the Americans? What interest have they in the house of commons? None; except a few members in opposition, whose reasoning though ever so cogent, is never attended to. Is it not too true that the majority of votes, and not reasoning prevails? Besides, were the ministry to attempt any measures injurious to a trading town in England, would not petitions have effect, when supported by members in the court interest? Are there any trading towns in this country, that have not such interest? What court member in either house, has attended to American petitions? Have not the colonists for these ten years repeatedly presented humble petitions for redress of grievances? Have not the majority in both houses unanimously supported the ministry; and have they not constantly rejected the petitions of the different provinces? How foreign then is this reasoning to the subject; and how absurd are those men who argue, that the Americans are equally represented with us; and that they have an equal chance of redress, when it is an absolute fact, the case is just the contrary.

It is a certain fact, that the people of Great Britain, in general, are not enemies to the Americans: it is likewise true, that the

generality of Americans are well affected to the English, and the English government. The present quarrel therefore is confined to a few dissatisfied individuals, who have most probably abused their power, or through inadvertence led us into this melancholy situation. Men therefore must be strangely infatuated, who believe, that such a universal dissatisfaction could prevail in the colonies, without they sensibly felt some real cause; unless they laboured under some grievances unredressed. All our measures against the Americans, seem more like the inconsiderate efforts, and unguarded actions of female petulance, than arising from that calm manly spirit, which should govern the councils of a great commercial nation. The different ministers by artifice, have gradually removed what was originally a captious ministerial quarrel, to an appearance of a dispute between the legislative body of the realm, the colonists, and the people of Great Britain at large.

The plan which was last adopted to settle our differences, was said to hold the olive branch in one hand, and the sword in the other. This statute declared, that Great Britain could bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever; that the British parliament had an unlimited power over the property and persons of the colonists: they positively insisted on the right of fixing the sum each colony was to raise for the support of the mother country. These terms, which were only intended to allure and deceive the British nation, were rejected with disdain, and increased the animosities.

It is not thought sufficient by the friends of administration, that the colonies raise a sum annually; but they must raise whatever sum is voted by a British parliament. If the members of both houses were questioned singly, what mode of taxation was less burthensome to the individuals in America; or what would be the most eligible means of raising a revenue; or how much each province could spare; perhaps the majority, if they spoke truth, would declare they knew not. Is it just, is it honourable then, to give votes at random? The members acknowledge they do not understand the proper mode of taxation, or the internal police of the American provinces; and yet they support the ministry by countenancing whatever wild projects they propose. Whether this is done by design or negligence, still the people in Great Britain and America became the immediate sufferers, and they have an undoubted right to expect redress.

To what principles the measures of government may be attributed for the last twelve years is difficult to determine. It cannot arise from an intention of only taxing the Americans; because, in all the continental petitions, besides the most solemn professions of allegiance to his majesty, they have voluntarily offered to raise us reasonable supplies; they only insist upon following their own mode as usual for this purpose in making it dependant on the votes of their own assemblies. If our requisitions.

ons were only a supply, what matters how it is raised, so that the sum is remitted to the mother country? This little distinction, trifling as it may seem, is for what we are principally sacrificing the lives of thousands of our brave soldiers and sailors, to exhaust our national treasure; impoverish our people, and in the end to lose the very object we are contending for.

The main scope of the ministers hath been to force the Americans, by every means, direct and indirect, to acknowledge the unlimited supremacy of Great Britain, and by their own inconsistency they have prevented this. To effect these great purposes, it was not the proper way to make laws and repeal them; to be of one opinion this session, and another the next? nor was it honourable to think of enforcing obnoxious laws, by military violence, upon the narrow principle of our colonists being in a defenceless state. For let us remember, that the ministry, and all their flatterers and abettors, constantly dinned in ours, that the Americans were cowards, poltroons, blustering bullies. The sound of the drum, the piercing squall of the fife, the sight of regular troops, without the use of arms, or the thunder of guns, were to frighten the Americans into submission.

It is owing to the contempt which the ministry and their wise friends had of the American spirit, that we are reduced to our present difficulties. The American opposition was treated too lightly, and even ludicrously, till they made a very formidable appearance. Some noble lords asserted, the colonists were not serious; others talked of subduing them without arms, and, indeed, all the measures that have been pursued, convince us, that the information from our colony servants must have been untrue, or that our ministry were dreaming about the affairs of the state.

The Boston port bill that received such marks of approbation from the ministerial friends, was to perform wonders; it was echoed through the land as a scheme replete with political sagacity; our Differences were to be settled without the loss of a soldier. What has been the consequence; it widened the breach, and added fuel to fire; it was a fresh reviving air, that served to increase the devouring flame. If we may be allowed to conjecture, this act was framed on a supposition, that, however deaf the Americans might be to reason, they would soon be brought to a serious reflexion, when their trading interests were at stake; and, when men are ready to give up all their interest, nay, even the means of obtaining a livelihood, we have a just right to think them sincere. The framers of the bill argued from their own feelings; self interest, perhaps, is their prevailing principle; and if they had it in their power to determine, whether they are to be the utter ruin of this once happy country, or relinquish their places, there is no great difficulty in conceiving which they would embrace.

With regard to this last act, it was thought necessary to obtain obedience by a military force; and ten thousand men were soon in Boston. The military of this country, the ministry and their friends, confidently and arrogantly boasted that this force would be sufficient to subdue the refractory in the colonies. To use the ministerial language, this army was soon to give a good account of the American opposition; they reckoned how many weeks would pass, before the ringleaders of the noisy rabble were in our custody; in imagination they were brought to England, loaded with irons; they were publickly executed, and their bodies mangled, and burnt as traitors. The event has proved just the contrary.

This formidable army, these conquerors of America, have been cooped up in Boston like inoffensive poultry; nor have they been capable of performing one exploit worthy of the military bravery of a British army; nay, they have at last been forced to abandon it, and quit it with disgrace.

The American army, we were taught to believe, were a mere mob, who would fly at the first sight of disciplined troops; there was scarce a military man in this kingdom, or even in America, who did not treat any idea of American resistance as madness in the extreme; they declared the thing to be impossible. These valiant sons of Mars, these self-sufficient heroes, were to drive the Yankees, the cowardly American poltroons, the fanatic praying, psalm-singing provincials, all through their country, like a flock of wild geese. New generals and fresh troops have been sent over to be spectators of the disgrace of the mother country, and they have now returned, not like Roman generals, to receive the honour of a glorious triumph, but to convince this deluded nation, if it can be convinced, of the improbability of our present measures ever succeeding.

They who deceive a most excellent prince, and a generous and brave people, must not complain when they themselves are deceived. In order, however, to prepare our minds for a more rational conduct, for the future, let us take a survey of the present state of affairs, and the plans intended to be executed by the ministry, for the termination of our national disputes.

At present, then, all America, except some inconsiderable places, and East and West Florida, is probably in the possession of the provincials. The people on the continent are under the immediate subjection of the congress, delegated from the different provinces, and elected by the free voice of the people. The congress has power to determine on the measures necessary to be pursued, either to prosecute the war, in the defence of what they call liberty, or to negotiate with the mother country on the subject of peace. They have, in the name of all the colonies they represent, petitioned the king to be upon the same footing they were before the year 1763. They likewise insist, that a British parliament have no right to tax them; but they readily submit

to parliamentary regulations of their trade. They freely offer, and solemnly promise to raise a revenue for the use of supporting the burdens of the mother country, but insist on following their own modes of raising this supply; namely, to be fairly voted as formerly, when the exigencies of state required it, in their own assemblies. They likewise consider our restraining laws on their trade, equal to a tax. Petitions similar to these have been delivered with the greatest decency and unaffected humiliation to the throne, requesting the interference of his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to listen to their complaints, redress their grievances, and thus happily terminate the present discords.

The ministry and their friends in both houses, have declared the present American resistance, to be rebellion. They have treated the congress, and their petition, with the utmost contempt. The colony governors have increased the apprehensions of the American subjects by proclamations, in which they have proscribed particular persons. They have changed the law civil to the law martial. They have endeavoured, but without effect, to excite the hatred of one colony against another; and in order to reduce the Americans to obedience, the ministry have sent out a naval and military force.

To determine now what ought to be done is rather difficult; but, as we have only two ways left to proceed; either to conquer this spirit in the Americans, or to negotiate with the congress to establish a permanent peace; let us conjecture on the consequences attending either method, and then we shall be better able to form a judgment of what will be most expedient for the true interests of the country. First then, let us draw some inferences, of what may most likely happen from prosecuting the war.

Great expectations, it is said, are formed by the ministry, of effecting a conquest by a naval force. The scheme is, to take all the American vessels and sell them as legal prizes. Let us, however, remember, they will not be loaded with French indigo, cotton, sugar or Spanish silver. We will suppose, that the whole navy of Great Britain is employed on this occasion; and in consequence, through the vigilance of our cruising vessels, all their shipping is in the possession of the English. We will suppose this effected; we will suppose, that several provincial privateers are fitted out against themselves; and that by accident the father murders his son, the son his father. We will suppose all their principal sea-port towns destroyed; but then, we have not conquered the colonists.

There is a considerable army on land, with whom we must engage; who are too politic to decide the fate of their country by a single battle. They would most probably harraßs our army continually, or keep it fixed in a similar state of inaction, to the valiant ten thousand in Boston. But supposing a very powerful army was to divide, according to the idea of some of our English poli-

politicians, and twenty or thirty thousand soldiers were to land in Canada, and the same number in the southern provinces, either in Georgia or South Carolina. Is it probable that these armies could ever meet? Is it not a fact, well known to the army in general, and particularly to those brave men who served last war in America, that such a scheme would be impracticable? But let us suppose sixty thousand men thus employed, even succeeded, conquered and destroyed every town and village in America; butchered men, women, and children promiscuously; and nearly extirpated their whole race. Of what consequence would this continent be to the mother country, when stripped of her trading vessels, when depopulated; when all her towns and villages are destroyed; when her fertile corn fields are laid waste?

How are the taxes, for which we now contend, then to be levied? Can our ministers, though ever such great financiers, extract from the wild, howling, melancholy beasts in the desert, the sums to pay off the national debt? Would they obtain a majority, would they request both houses to pass votes, and force the American trees to comply with the demands of the mother country? Some end may be answered by a war with other nations; but what advantage are we to gain by murdering thousands of our own people? What joy can arise from carrying desolation through our own country, and plunging the sword into our own bosoms? Such unfeeling resentments may be agreeable to our natural enemies; but it must produce horror in the mind of every well-wisher to this country.

Our religion, our consciences, violently oppose the present unmerciful disposition to our friends, our relations, our brothers.

But suppose we should be disappointed in our expectations of success; and a great part of our fleet should be lost; for all seafaring people know what danger there is on the American coast, which is a lee-shore. When the North-west winds sets in, the chief of our ships, if they are so hazardous as to keep out to sea, will be driven towards the West Indies. There are likewise frequent and dangerous hurricanes on the coast. Supposing, notwithstanding our vigilance, many of the American privateers escape, and plunder our rich West Indiamen? Will any man conversant in naval affairs and the American coast, say, that such a thing is improbable? We should recollect, that when ships have been out four or five months, they will want docking; their bottoms will want cleaning; their sides will want caulking, otherwise they will be useless. How are ships to be refitted for sea? At Halifax, say the ministry. Where are the shipwrights; for the Americans will give no assistance whatever in heaving down our vessels. Nor will our ships, unless our army should be happily posted on shore, ever be permitted to enter their dockyards, many of which lie many miles up a narrow river. So that
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for refitting, our ships must return home, especially our great ones, or be like useless logs floating on the sea. For the American-built vessels are excellent for quick sailing; and those employed on the coast being small, are easily refitted, even without going into their principal harbours.

The difficulties we are going to encounter, our penetrating ministry, perhaps, have not had leisure to examine; but let us attend, and a little time may discover, that these present suggestions are melancholy truths. It is our thoughtlessness and want of foresight that gives spirit to the Americans; and it seems at present the peculiar happiness of this country, for ministers to be hasty in council, to pass laws without consideration. The American councils, on the contrary, seem to be very deliberate; but, when points are determined, the plans are rapidly executed.

The chance, then, is certainly equal, whether our fleet shall return victorious, or whether they perish in the attempt, notwithstanding our great and expensive preparations; which, if continued for one year only, will cost this nation near four millions sterling. The American revenue would not amount to such a sum for a great number of years, had even the acts been admitted. An excellent mode of paying the national debt.

If a part of our fleets lay in the American harbours, what will be the consequence? The Colonists, most probably, if they possess the land, will produce constant alarms, by either temporary built vessels to set fire to our ships, or other stratagems, that will equally annoy us; and, if our ships are frozen up next winter in their harbours or rivers, they may likely be lost forever to the mother country. Thus will our brave sailors, the inestimable supporters of Great Britain, be left to the mercy of an enraged people.

The ill effects of prohibiting all intercourse with the mother country, will be severely felt by the merchants of Great Britain. But, indeed, commercial and pecuniary considerations are inconsiderable, when we reflect on the great number of human victims who are to be sacrificed on this occasion. But it seems the lives of thousands are trifles to an unfeeling ministry. While they enjoy the luxuries of life, undisturbed, they seem insensible to the piercing cries of the brave soldier or sailor's widow, and their impoverished fatherless children.

From these conjectures on our naval force, let us consider the army. We will suppose 60,000 men landed, 30,000 on the southern provinces, and the same number in the northern. For some time the army must remain near the sea-coasts; and, if they begin their march with intent to take possession of the numerous towns, villages, and plantations, they must leave their heavy artillery; for the roads in America are not like those in Great Britain. In the southern provinces, no person can travel

20 miles from the sea-coasts, except thro' thick woods, and farther up the country there are no roads in many parts. In North America, though a larger portion of land is cleared, yet the travelling in general is through woods, at least every ten or twenty miles. In the progress of our military through the country, unless the Americans were absolutely cowards, as the ministry formerly asserted, and which we now know not to be true; an engagement or several must happen, and the natives of America understand bush-fighting rather better than Scotchmen, Hessians, or Russians. They know more, they know the country, and they would make every ten miles a serious march to our brave British soldiers.

If an army of 60,000 English are in America, they must be fed. But how? Not by the Americans; for they would naturally destroy every sort of sustenance at the approach of the King's troops. It is positively impracticable to supply such an army, from the fleet or transports; or even from the mother country, unless the transports could follow the camp on dry land: but even baggage waggons cannot be drawn far up the country, especially in the southern provinces.

It is an invariable maxim amongst the Americans, never to face an enemy but with superior advantages and the most evident prospects of success. After the scorching heat of the day's march, the soldier must be refreshed with rest: it is positively impracticable in most parts to form a regular camp; then how is the wearied soldier to sleep in security? How is an army to brave the dangers of the field, when famishing with hunger, and deprived of rest? Therefore if they attempt to penetrate far into the country, they must perish for want of the necessaries of life.

Among other things we should consider that the climate will occasion sickness; putrid fevers will probably destroy more than the sword. Where, and how is the poor enfeebled sick soldier to obtain any comfortable relief? The sick and wounded will be frequently left to the cruel care of Indian savages; it would be a greater charity to hang every soldier we send on this unnecessary cruel expedition. Only let us suppose for a moment, that a French army was landed on the coast of England; can we imagine they would march through our country? Would all the English fly at the appearance of French troops? Would our enemies receive friendly assistance from our countrymen? No. We should unite with vigour to oppose the intended ravages of the invaders: we should rack our inventions to cut off supplies; we should discomfit them by every means that fancy could imagine.

Will not the Americans conduct themselves in a similar manner? Will they not continually harass in the day, and in the night will they not disturb our wearied men; and are they not on the spot ready for these purposes?

Men

Men in an enemy's country, perhaps cut off from all supplies, if the commanders imprudently marched too far; and in a starving condition, surrounded by the provincials, are not likely to engage with courage.

It is not improbable that the foreign troops would readily embrace the first favourable opportunity that offered to desert, when they found a likelihood of being better provided for. These are only some of the disadvantages which may happen if our army proceed up the country. If they remain near the sea-coast, or in a similar state to those lately in Bolton, we may as well keep them peaceably and inactive in our own country; and by that means save the nation millions of money.

We would advise these pretenders to conquest, to conquer their own private resentments; their own violent passions; then their inflexible perverseness and obstinacy: this would be a conquest indeed; a conquest that would not disgrace the greatest man in the kingdom.

To bring about a reconciliation of these unhappy differences, on the side of government some points should be given up; all animosities should cease before the commencement of a negotiation, and an act of general pardon and oblivion of what has passed, should lay the foundation on the side of the mother country. The high spirited resentments of some leading men in America should subside; discord and violence on both sides should end, and the calm voice of reason should be substituted in their place. Thus may tranquility be restored, and thus may the blunders of the former and the present ministry be repaired, and the designs of those wretches who have fomented our unnatural divisions, both in this country and in America, be frustrated.

The insinuations that the Americans aim at independance, are stories invented and circulated to increase our animosities; but there is nothing more untrue. It is impossible for the colonists to be happier than under the protection of Great Britain; a they will understand their own interests. It is what they wish it is what they have petitioned for. Shall we be deaf then to their intreaties; and by our petulance and inflexible resentments, lose them for ever? It is inevitable, unless we approve of some mode of reconciliation. It is from our repeated inattention to their applications for redress, that, unwearied and alarmed with jealousies, they have armed in their defence. Now they are in arms, now it is found in direct contradiction to the paliating and amusing professions of administration, and their servile adherents on the continent, that the provincials are resolute; we are diverted with a new species of reasoning, that does high honor to the parties.

One noble lord says, "Bad this year, better the next; that the English are always unsuccessful at the beginning of a war."

Another

Another noble lord, tells us, that we must rush on the foe impetuously, and conquer this spirit in America. We are to do this immediately, without any consideration. We are not to examine too nicely into the causes. Indeed his lordship is right; they will not bear examination; but they shall be examined, and the public shall be informed of their evil tendency. A third lord, in an elegant oration, rails vehemently against ministers at the opening of the session; next day accepts a place, and turns yesterday's satire into a panegyric, and loud bawlings of applause to-day. It is however not our province to be personal; we mean only to attack measures, not the men, for this last would be an inexhaustible subject.

This detail of facts is submitted to the consideration of the unbiassed and sensible part of the nation; and it is presumed most thinking men will acknowledge, that the ministry have, in several instances, oppressed the Americans. The disturbances have not arisen from the designs of a few factious men, either in this country or America, as administration would fain make us believe. But all our present misfortunes seem owing to our inflexible obstinacy in pursuing unconstitutional measures. A regular system of oppression has prevailed on the side of Great Britain, and a violent and steady opposition on the side, and in every part of America. We have been deaf to petitions or remonstrances, or the American distresses; we have, by injuring commerce, induced thousands of our poor countrymen to seek for employment in foreign countries; these petitioned too, but we were unheeding of their complaints. Thus have we strengthened the power of America, and weakened and rendered feeble our own country. Petitions for these ten years have approached the throne; the petitioners have been constantly scorned, rejected, and even insulted.

The whole conduct of the ministry, the present state of this distressed nation; the whole of the foregoing facts, all prove the truth of these assertions.

If the war is even just, and we prosecute it with vigour and success, yet it will ruin the country, which reason alone should induce us to avoid it. If it is unjust, when the calm voice of reason returns, what horrors, what tortures, will then afflict us? The sad remembrance of the slaughtered victims will ever be present to our view; our guilty souls will be ever on the rack; struck with remorse, we shall sink with despair: and death will be a relief to minds conscious of murdering an inoffensive people, who have not provoked us.

F I N I S.

